bladder difficulties of pregnant women in this way: During the growth of the embryo there is a greater burden on the bladder and it is not up to this.

They reckon the time of delivery inexactly. Their count begins with the new moon following the first indications of pregnancy. Each new moon is noted with a notch on one of the poles of the hut. When they have cut nine notches, they prepare for the happy event. For example: a woman notices on January 29th, 1904 at the time of the first quarter of the moon that she is pregnant. On the day of the next new moon (February 16th) she makes the first notch and at the ninth new moon (October 9th) the last one. Now she awaits the child, 246 days after the first signs of pregnancy. The pregnancy calendar of a white woman would estimate the birth at the end of October.

b) Delivery. (//ora-s, giving birth, ǃna-ʔes, being born; one also hears the word ʔuʔbu-s, relief, hoʔs, getting. oa-s means calving of cows and, when said of a person, is scorned as a vulgar expression). I [578] have seen women immediately before delivery with a staff of midwives in readiness. Once I saw six women squatting around in one hut scarcely 3 metres in width. Mixed in with the smoke of the sooty fire was the smoke of the coffee which they burned and of the pipes which steadily made the rounds. It was difficult to recognize the woman who was the cause of this gathering who lay on the floor in the background covered with skins. I was also able to visit women after they had given birth and find out about the details of the birth. But in spite of many personal connections with several families and their many relatives I was never able to be an eye-witness at a birth. Even when the pregnant woman expressly gave me permission to attend, [216] I would either hear about the event just after it had occurred, or if I had found out about it in time, permission had subsequently been withdrawn. Consideration for the woman in labor, which according to the prevailing opinion of the Hottentots does not even permit the presence of a male Hottentot, forced me to give in. I am therefore particularly indebted to my honored [128] old friend, Frau v. B., who grew up among the Hottentots and has been active for decades in their huts as a midwife. She became very well acquainted with the birth practices of the Little Namaland Hottentots where they are still removed from cultural contacts. I have thoroughly tested the information that she gave me. My research in Great Namaland before and after she gave me this information makes me fully prepared to accept the responsibility for the following even without the personal guarantee of my authority.

921

Of the individual fixed stars I heard only Sirius mentioned by Hottentots: it was called ǃna-/m/ga³mirob, and sometimes also ǃna/mina/ma, that is, "side star." I could not determine the significance of this word with any certainty, and only a supposition can perhaps be justified: "The Hottentot, as we have seen earlier (p. 61), calls the east wind ai-ǂo-ab, because it comes from "in front." Hence, if the east, as the point where the sun rises, is the front of the world for him, then north and [369] south would be the sides. From this conception it would be comprehensible that Sirius, the brightest star of the Northern sky of the Southern Hemisphere, is regarded as the "side star." Its partner in the southern skies would be Canopus.

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b) The time division of the Hottentots is based upon the change of the seasons, of the phases of the moon, and of the daily position of the sun.

α) They have, to be sure, the concept "year," guri-b, which refers to the period encompassing the seasonal changes, but they do not calculate according to years in our sense. I got the impression that they recall the age of their cattle according to calf and lamb periods. Their own age is of no interest to them, and if they perchance want to date something further back, then they use well-known local events (the outbreak of cattle plague, hostilities with neighboring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc.) as sufficiently general points of reference, from which they can then date a specific moment by figuring in the birth or size of the children in the family at that time.

β) The change of the seasons, ga-mage, determines the division of the whole year. They distinguish the following seasons:

1. An early spring. When with increasing warmth (ǃo-ba, vb.; also said of the early sun that warms the eastern sides of the rocks and bushes after a cold night) and independent of the rainfall the trees and bushes begin budding and, in good years, wintry early rains or early spring rains (cf. Climate, p. 154 ff.) revitalize the meadows, the blossoming time, ǃkyā-///aēb, or spring, ǀaba-b, has come. It begins as early as August and ends in October.

2. The season that the Hottentot calls //kyā-nab (in the Bergdamara dialect ǂoreb, that is, "the sun time") comprises the *first half of a* hot period, during which the so-called "little" rainy season occurs if the year is good. If these rains do not come or if they are sparse, as is usually the case, then the land remains extensively barren, without growth of grass and plants. This period of drouth, like the drouth itself, is called /kuru-b. The //kyā-nab of the Hottentots extends from October through

December and thus corresponds astronomically to the spring of the Southern Hemisphere. 805

3. The season upon whose abundance the welfare of the Hottentots primarily depends is called //ha/o·b (3, n.): we can call it the grazing season (since the word is also used in the same concrete sense as tib, "pasture"). It comprises the so-called "big" [370] rainy period of the year and the time immediately following, during which the fodder plants retain their greenness. It falls, generously estimating, between the months of January and April, hence into the southern summer and the beginning of fall.

4. The winter of the Hottentots, sao·b, comprises the cold season from May to August and therefore includes the last two-thirds of the fall and the first half of winter by astronomical calculation.

7) A more detailed organization of the year is based upon the observation of the phases of the moon. When, after the new moon, the crescent again appears (ǂkxani·, vb.) in the western sky, they consider the month //kxãb begun. For the Hottentot the phases of the moon are symbols of his own development and passing away (cf. Folk tale XXX): the crescent which is just appearing and still scarcely recognizable is called ᵒǂkxa/m//kxãb, ǂkxa/m with the meaning "unripe." The word is also used to designate a fruit which is prematurely born. [821]

The narrow glittering crescent in which the moon, as it were, comes alive (that is the original meaning of !gĕ), is called ᵒ!gĕ·go//kxãb.

The first two quarters have two names that are common to both of them. The first is ᵒgai·//kxãgai·ra//kxãb, "the moon that becomes big or old (gai)." The other name is ᵒgă/ai·ra//kxãb, "the moon that becomes clever (gă/ai)."

Thus, they cause the moon to increase in age and wisdom until it ripens into the full moon, ᵒgai//kxãb.

In the last quarters only the narrow crescent is characterized as ᵒ//ĕna//kxãb, "the dying (//ĕ, -na, participle of progressive action) moon."

Proportionately as our twelve months and the dates of the Christian festivals gain prominence, the Hottentots gradually forget the time reckoning of their ancestors. It is definitely established that they gave names to the individual lunations of the year in close connection to the change of the seasons. In Kroenlein's "Wortschatz" (57) Hottentot

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

designations can be found for nine of our months. I did not include the name for September because it is a word belonging to the Bergdamara dialect. Kroenlein's Hottentot February corresponds to the January of my calculations. Our calculations show considerable deviation only in the interpretation of the name for July, which I must requisition for October.

Of the four names of months that are new here, I have used the one listed under VII, because of its clear astronomical reference, as the reliable point of departure for a comparison of the Hottentot months with ours. [371] The Hottentot months, which were surely based upon naive observation of the moon phases and hence the time of a synodical month (29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes), can naturally be equated only approximately with the months of our calendar. The etymology of the names, which contain references to the meteorological character of the season, yields a valuable checking system as to whether or not the attempt to make such an equation is justified in the given case.

The placing of the months that have no such etymological reference to their position in the year was based solely upon native tradition; that is, in this case upon the information of an old woman whom I found to be reliable. After many unsuccessful attempts to cull any useful information from the unclear calendar conception of the natives of my acquaintance, I finally succeeded unexpectedly in finding the forgotten month names in the vivid memory of a 60 to 70 year old Hottentot woman. Without any hesitation or faltering she repeated twelve names to me in a constantly consistent sequence. When asked where she got this knowledge, she referred to her childhood. The possibility cannot be excluded that this duodecimal system of the months and their order had already been influenced by notions of the whites. Therefore, it has perhaps already become too late to penetrate here into the original ideas of the people. Then the following scheme may at least be preserved as the last attainable remnant of that which has been lost. -- The twelve months of the Hottentots and the parallel months of our calendar are thus the following:

I. ǂkxo-esao//kxãb (or ǂkxo-esao): "the moon that follows the ǂkxo-e-bush." This important grazing bush, a variety of Salsola (see p. 80), is supposed to have its main blossoming in the spring. Therefore, the first month of the southern summer follows (sao) it . . . . . January

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II. ǂgaǂma·ǂaeb . . . . . February

III. °!kχai tsãǂb: "when it begins (tsãǂ = tsoǂ, intransitive vb.) to get cold (!kχai)." The name designates a lunation in the transitional period from summer to fall. According to the accepted order it would correspond to our . . . . . March

IV. ǂgoro /nü·ǂseb: Older Hottentots, consistently and independently of one another, assured me that this referred to the [372] month of increasing cold when one sits so close to the fire that one's legs (/nüǂ-) get blisters (ǂgo·ro) . . . . . April

V. ǂnü·ǂ //kχãasa, "the black month." In the southern winter, the drouth period, the black branches of the bushes that have shed their foliage give the landscape its characteristic aspect (57) . . May

57. Ibid.

VI. /hai·//kχãasa . . . . . June

VII. °/kχũ·ǂ//kχãasa, that is, "the month of the Pleiades." For an observer at 25° Southern Latitude the Pleiades become visible in the second half of June. As it was mentioned earlier (see p. 368), the appearance of the Pleiades is of significance for the wanderings of the natives who are seeking tsam·a. Hence, it is understandable that they name the lunation from the month of June to July after this constellation . . . . July

VIII. hõaǂri·b . . . . . August

IX. !hoǂa·ǂga·eb, the month "when the leaves (ǂga·e-) are crooked (crinkled by winter) (!hoǂa·)." (57). . . . . September

57. Ibid.

X. gaiǂkχa·ni . . . . . October

XI. °/gõ·a!kχa·ni . . . . . November

XII. /hõ·ǂǂga·eb. When the fresh, young verdure

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sprouts from the old withered grass roots after the first plentiful rain, then the grass meadow (≠ga·eb, "leaves") seems to be checked (/hõ/, with a black and white checked marking) (see p. 265) . . December

[177] δ) The Hottentot became familiar with the division of time into weeks only as a day laborer in the service of the whites: he had to get used to paydays and holidays. His calendar for this purpose is a thin piece of wood, about 10 centimeters long and 2 centimeters wide, into which seven holes have been burned. A thong is attached to one end, and the loose end of the thong is inserted successively through one of the holes, each of which designates a certain day of the week. The women like to tie the calendar wood to their necklaces by means of the upper end of the thong; the men like to wear it on their hats along with a fluttering ostrich feather. The primitive calendar is called bē·kgye hais, the "week wood" (borrowed from Dutch week).

[373] ε) The smallest unit of time measurement of the Hottentots is the day, tsēs, and the night, tsū·χub. They indicate the length of a journey by days and nights. //a·ri means both "tomorrow" and "yesterday."

The other distinctions they make do not refer to lengths of time but only to times of day. In this connection the many words for the time between day and night is striking, whereas in the day itself only noon, tsē!gā/b, is emphasized. This becomes understandable if one considers that the sun, with negligible exceptions, is visible all year long from early in the morning until evening. The Hottentot knows how to express specific hours as well as duration of time, with certainty and comprehensibly, by reference to the position of the sun.

Special designations are used only for the time at the beginning and at the end of the day.

1. °//go·a!a·roam is the dawn.

2. °!u·itsū·χubab is the dusk.

3. The bright time of day shortly before sunrise is called °kχai·//go·agab since this period of daybreak (//go·ab) is usually the most bitingly cold (!kχai).

4. The period of brightness immediately following sunset is called °/a ba/ho·bab, that is "the red twilight."

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5. In some areas the period of the first perceptible diminishing of light after sunset is designated as "little children's twilight," ᵒǂkχa·ǀm!gõa/hobob, in accordance with the belief that most children, /gõ·an are born at this time.

6. The ᵒ/u·iab of the Hottentots corresponds to our afternoon.

7. Their //go·agab can be equated approximately with out forenoon.

8. A distinction is made between evening, !u·ib, and late evening, !o·es, which extends long past sunset.

9. They call the hour of midnight ᵒtsũ·χub!gã·ǀb, the "back of the night."

C. Rudiments of Art

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We saw that the beginnings of sculptural art progress no further than boys' games (see p. 311 f.). But the pleasure in reproduction, in the fantasyful representation of enduring impressions of memory, is equally vivid for old and young Hottentots. Their joy in and capacity for imitation is expressed in pantomime, their musical feeling in reed blowing and singing, [374] and more delicate erotic matters in their dances. Only in a few cases do we find the beginnings of these art forms clearly defined; generally they are just as mixed as the incitements which form their basis. Thus they cannot be divided among our Muses, but can only be organized in a series ranging from the simple to the complicated. [Musical bow. 1/8 natural size.]

1. The Musical Pantomime

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Whereas on a childish level (see "Children's Games," p. 315) we saw certain fantasy concepts being aroused by rhythmical sounds, musical tones appear for the first time in the musical pantomime of the Hottentots.

For this purpose they use as a musical instrument a wooden bow, kχãǀb, preferably cut from the thorn tree, and strung with a string made of the back sinews of the goat (or, better, from sheep gut). The women are the performing artists. They sit on the ground when they play. The upper end of the bow rests against the left shoulder

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embryo, and goes to pieces with the outpouring of the after-waters and the blood, to form anew at the next pregnancy. The fœtus is not regarded as alive until the seventh month. Gestation is recognized to extend over nine months, and its progress is carefully measured. The calculation starts on the new moon after the manifestation of the first signs, when a cut is made in one of the poles of the hut. Every successive new moon is similarly marked, until the ninth cut is has been made, when preparations are taken in hand for the delivery.[1]

Of the social usages relating to pregnancy we have but little information. Vedder states that the husband, as soon as the first symptoms of pregnancy become visible, must devote special attention to his wife, and is obliged especially to appease her wishes for special food, in order not to endanger the new life.[2] Unfortunately, we are not told in what this special food consists. Schultze, on the other hand, says that the expectant mother does not have to follow any special diet, only care must be taken that she does not suffer from constipation, as this will make the birth more difficult. A pregnant woman, however, may not be present when an animal is being slaughtered, otherwise her child will be born with a slit throat, nor may she reach with upstretched arms to the roof of the hut, lest the child become fatally entangled in the navel cord.[3] It is also believed that if a woman during pregnancy drinks the blood or eats the flesh of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, swiftness, and strength. Hahn mentions in this connection that a woman whom he once reproached for cruelty attributed her temper to the fact that her mother drank panther (*sic*) blood, in order to bear ferocious children.[4] Pregnant women must also, as we have seen, refrain from entering the hut in which a */nau* person is secluded, lest they increase the peril in which he finds himself. The beating of a pregnant woman, even by her husband, is regarded as brutality, and if miscarriage follows the culprit is given fifty lashes.[5] There is no information as to the time when sexual intercourse ceases between a husband and his pregnant wife, nor is there anything to indicate that the woman interrupts her normal occupations before the day of birth.

[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 213–17; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 226–7.
[2] "The Nama," 135.
[3] *Namaland und Kalahari*, 216.
[4] *Tsuni-||Goam*, 85.
[5] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Nama," 648.

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Pleiades, on account of their thick cluster of stars, are called by the name */hũiseti* or */kxũiseti*, derived from the verb */hũ* to assemble, or are otherwise known as */ao /gamiroti*, "Hoar-frost stars," since at the time when they become visible the nights may already be so cold that hoar-frost is found in the morning. 821

Of these stars Hahn gives the following myth, which he names "The Orion Myth, or the Curse of the Women".[1] "The /Khunuseti (Pleiades) said to their husband, 'Go thou and shoot those three Zebras for us; but if thou dost not shoot, thou darest not come home.' And the husband went out with only one arrow, and he shot with his bow. But he did not hit, and he sat there because his arrow had missed the Zebras. On the other side stood the Lion and watched the Zebras, and the man could not go and pick up his arrow to shoot again. And because his wives had cursed him he could not return; and there he sat in the cold night shivering and suffering from thirst and hunger. And the /Khunuseti said to the other men: 'Ye men, do you think that you can compare yourselves to us, and be our equals? There now, we defy our own husband to come home because he has not killed game.'" 821 773

In explanation Hahn states[2] that Aldebaran, or α Tauri, is the husband of the myth, and the */Khunuseti*, or Pleiades, are his wives. His bow is ν ν Orionis; his sandals, *//haroa*, are ε and δ of the Hyades; his kaross is θ and γ of the Hyades; δ, ε, ζ, Orionis are the zebras, */gurega*, and Leo is the Lion. The arrow */ab* is marked by *i*, *d*, *c*, Orionis, of which again it is called *//naus*, the arrowhead, and *c* is the opposite end, where */aus*, the feather is fixed.

The gleam of the Milky Way and of the Magellanic Clouds reminds the Hottentot of the weak glow of the embers of a hearth fire. The former is therefore known as *tsaob*, Ember, the masculine singular ending reflecting the large slender shape of the constellation, and the latter as *tsaora*, Embers (fem. dual), the ending reflecting the clumpy form and the smallness of the constellation. The Magellanic Clouds are also called *xaun /kauruku*, "the two lion testicles." Of single fixed stars Schultze heard only Sirius named, as the "Side Star", */naun /gamirob*. Two other names of stars are recorded by Hahn: *maru*, "the two eyes," for α and β Centauri, and *xaun di mura*, the eyes of the lion, for μ 1 and 2 Scorpionis.[3] It will be remembered that he also speaks of the stars as the eyes of the deceased. 821

The calendar of the Hottentots[4] is based on the change of the 805

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 74. [2] Ibid., 108-9. [3] Ibid., 109 [4] Schultze, op. cit., 369-73.

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805 seasons, the phases of the moon, and the daily positions of the sun. They are well acquainted with the concrete phenomenon of the year, */gurib*, as a single period of seasonal variation, but they do not reckon in years of this sense. The year, that is, is empirically given by them, but not limited in the abstract. Above all, it is not a calendrical and numerical quantity. They keep in mind the age of their cattle, which they reckon by calving and lambing periods. They have, however, no interest in their own ages. When they wish to date back somewhat further, well-known events, such as the outbreak of rinderpest, hostilities with neighbouring tribes or with the whites, immigrations, etc., furnish them with satisfactory points of control, from which, coupling them in particular instances with the birth of their children or the stature of these at the time, they can arrive at a date.

805 821 The major divisions of the year are the seasons, *gamagu*, of which there are four. In determining these the Hottentots seem to keep in mind the vegetation rather than the climate. They distinguish, first, early spring, (*/kxu//aēb*, blossoming-time, or */abab*, spring), which has come when with increasing warmth, independently of the rainfall, trees and bushes break into leaf, and in good years winter or early spring rains have revived the grass. It begins as early as August and ends in October. The following season, *//kxūnab* (in the Bergdama dialect *soreb*, " sun-time ") embraces the first half of the hot period, in which, when the year is good, the so-called lesser rains fall. If these are failing, or, as is usually the case, are scanty, the land is for the most part desolate, without grass or herbage. This time of drought is sometimes called by the same name as drought itself, */kxarub*. It prevails from October to December inclusive, and thus corresponds to the astronomical spring of the Southern hemisphere. The season upon the productiveness of which the welfare of the Hottentots most depends, *//kaob*, may be called the pasture season; it includes the period of the greater rains and the time immediately after this, when the fodder has not yet lost its freshness. It comprises, loosely speaking, the period January to April, thus corresponding to summer and the beginning of autumn. Winter, *saob*, or the cold season, lasts from May to August, and thus embraces two-thirds of the autumn and the first half of winter.

Further divisions of the year are based on observations of the moon. The month, known by the same name as the moon itself, *//kxāb*, begins when the crescent of the moon appears in the western sky. The phases of the moon symbolise to the Hottentot his own growth and decay.

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The just-emerging, hardly yet visible crescent is called *ǂkxum//kxāb*, *ǂkxum* meaning "unripe" in the same sense as it is used to denote a premature fruit. The slender, shining crescent, in which as it were the moon "revives", is called by a name with that significance, */gāgo //kxāb*. The first two quarters have two names common to both of them, *gui-//kxūgaira //kxāb*, "the moon which becomes great or old (*gui*)," and *gaaira //kxāb*, "the moon which becomes wise (*gāai*)." In the last quarter only the slender crescent is distinguished, as "the dying moon", *//ōra //kxāb*.

With the gradual adoption of the European calendar, the Hottentot series of months has fallen into decay. The list of months, their order and the other statements given by Schultze come from an old Nama woman, but he is not quite sure that the ideas of the Europeans had not already influenced the number of months and their succession. He refers to another list in Kroenlein's dictionary, which has only nine names. Kroenlein's February corresponds to his January; but it is only in the position of the name for July, which Schultze claims for October, that the two lists differ to any extent. The twelve months of the Hottentots and the approximately-corresponding months of the European calendar are as follows:—

I. (January) *ǂkxumm //kxāb*, "the moon which follows upon the *ǂkxum* (*Salsola*) bush," an important pasture bush having its principal flowering season in spring.
II. (February) *gumm /aēb*, not translated.
III. (March) *Khasi aēb*, "when it begins to be cold."
IV. (April) *ǂgoro /aēb*, explained by several old Hottentots as the month of increasing cold, when one sits so near the fire that "the legs blister".
V. (May) *ǂnu //kxāo*, the "black month," comes in the time of drought, when the black branches of the stripped bushes give the landscape this character.
VI. (June) *ǂkai //kxāo*, not translated.
VII. (July) *ǂkoa //kxāo*, "the month of the Plaisen," which become visible in the latter half of June.
VIII. (August) *kaoxā*, not translated.
IX. (September) *ǂkoe ǂgaob*, the month "when the leaves are curled up" by the cold.
X. (October) *gui ǂkaoxi*, not translated.
XI. (November) *ǂgoe ǂkaoxi*, not translated.
XII. (December) *ǂke ǂgaob*, named from the fact that when, after the first productive rains upon the old and withered grass, the fresh young green shoots up, the meadows, *ǂgaob*, appear to be dappled, *ǂke*.

The smallest unit of time to the Hottentots is the day, *tsēs*, and the night, *tsīkaob*. The length of a journey is always spoken of in terms of days and nights. Within the day they distinguish not lengths of time but only parts of the day. They can, however, express with great certainty and clearness both points and duration of time, by referring to the sun. Of the hours of the day, only noon, *tsī /gāb*, is brought into prominence, and similarly the only point of

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805 821 night distinguished is midnight, *tsūxub /gāb*, " the back of the night." On the other hand the limits of day and night, are elaborately marked out. They distinguish morning and evening twilight, *//goa /aroam* and */uitsūxubab* respectively; morning brightness, i.e. the time of clear day shortly after sunrise, which is named */kxai //goagab*, because about dawn (*//goab*) it is usually most perceptibly cold (*/kxai*), and evening brightness, */aba /hobob*, the " red twilight ". " Little children's twilight," *ǂkxam-/goa-/hobob*, is in some places the name given to the first noticeable diminution of light after sunset, in accordance with the belief that at this hour most children (*/goan*) are born. Afternoon, */uiab*, and morning, *//goagab*, are only approximate. Finally, a distinction is made between evening, */uib*, and late evening, */oes*, which extends till long after sunset.

805 177 The division of time into weeks was first learned by the Hottentots from the Europeans. As calendar for marking the days of the week they use a thin flat piece of wood, about 10 cm. long and 2 cm. wide, through which seven holes are burned. To the one end is fastened a leather string, whose lower end is inserted down the row into one of the holes, each of which marks a special day of the week. The upper end of the string is used by the women for fastening the calendar to their necklaces, whereas the men prefer to carry the calendar in their hatbands. This primitive calendar is called *bekgye hais*, " week wood," the first word being taken from the Dutch *week*.